CHAPTER 6

Nationalism and Ultranationalism

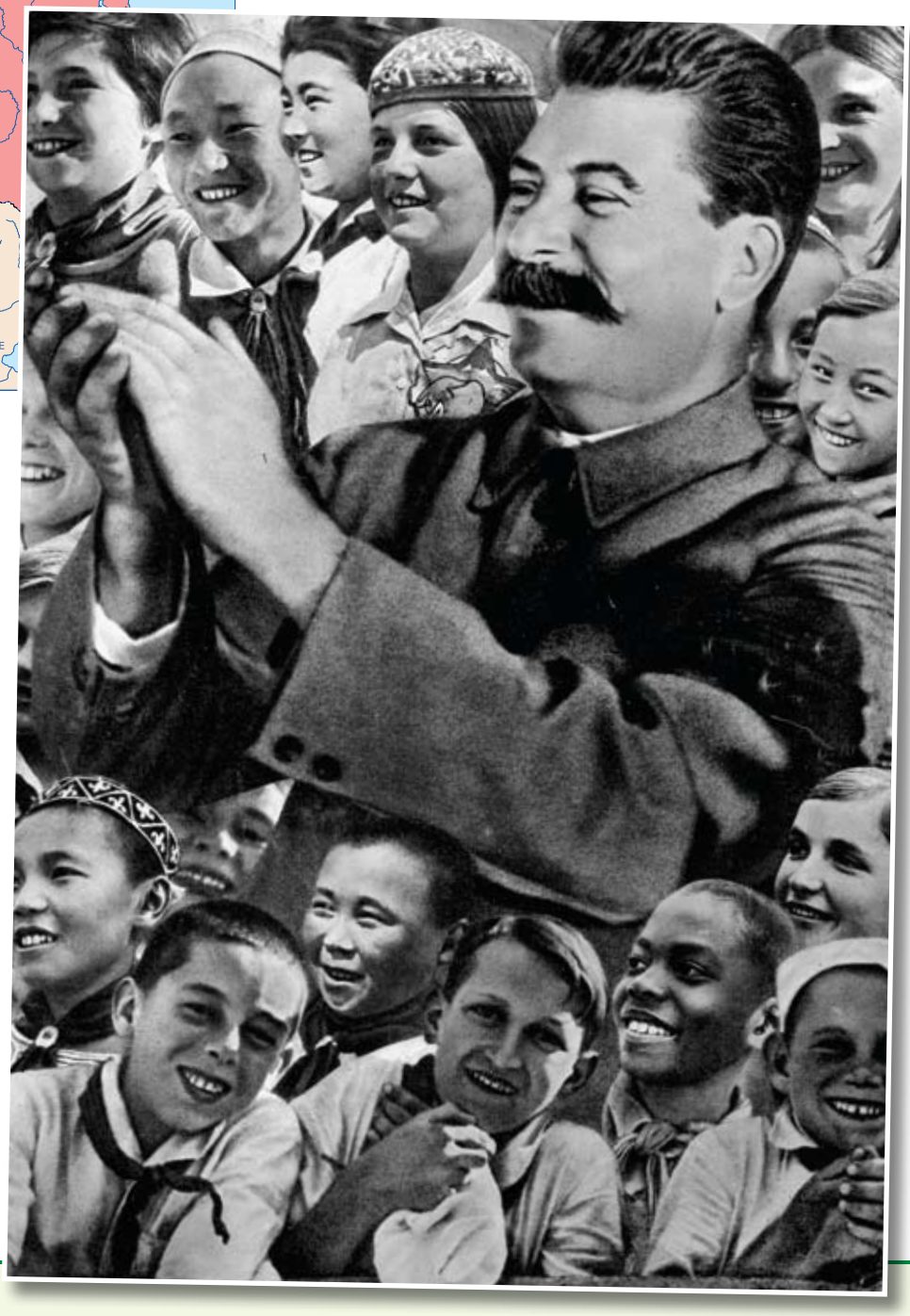


Figure 6-1 The map shows the Soviet Union in 1938, just before World War II started. The poster was created by the government of the Soviet Union in 1930. It shows dictator Joseph Stalin surrounded by happy children, who represent the nations under his control. Stalin ruled the Soviet Union from the late 1920s until his death in 1953.

CHAPTER ISSUE

How can nationalism lead to ultranationalism?

THE POSTER ON THE PREVIOUS PAGE shows a kindly Joseph Stalin surrounded by children from the peoples of the vast Soviet Union, which included the present-day countries of Russia, Ukraine, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, among others. The poster shows Stalin as a friendly figure, but the reality was very different. While Stalin was dictator, up to 60 million people — including children — were executed or died in state-created famines, forced-labour camps, and deportations.

Examine the poster and map, then respond to the following questions:

- What words would you use to describe the figure of Stalin in the poster? How did the artist who created the poster portray the dictator?
- What message does this poster send about life in the Soviet Union under Stalin? Why would conveying this message be important in a dictatorship?
- What difficulties might a dictator experience when trying to control a vast country that contains people of so many ethnic and cultural backgrounds?

KEY TERMS

ultranationalism
propaganda
appeasement
conscription

LOOKING AHEAD

In this chapter, you will explore the extent to which nationalism can lead to ultranationalism. You will do this by responding to the following questions:

- What is ultranationalism?
- How does ultranationalism develop?
- How have people responded to ultranationalism?

My Journal on Nationalism

Look back at the notes you recorded at the beginning of Chapter 5. Compare your current views with those you recorded earlier. Is your point of view changing? If so, how and why? If not, why not? Date your ideas and add them to the journal, notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file you are keeping as you progress through this course.

Figure 6-2 In February 2004, this woman attended a Moscow rally to celebrate Defenders of the Motherland Day. Her placard shows a picture of Stalin and the slogan "Soviet land for Soviet people." What is the underlying message of this placard? What connection might link the slogan and the picture of Stalin?

What is ultranationalism?

Even when people do not agree on exactly what nationalism is, some say that it is the most powerful political force in the world. Some people also believe that **ultranationalism** — an extreme form of nationalism — is one of the most destructive forces in the world.

Ultranationalists have a strong sense of their own national identity but little respect for the national identity of others. Ultranationalists may be extreme patriots. They may believe that their own country can do no wrong, even when it denies the human rights of some people. Some historians, for example, believe that the treaties that gave Britain and France control over the Middle East after World War I are examples of ultranationalism. Those treaties made sure that the peoples of the Middle East did not enjoy the same rights as citizens of Britain and France.

Ultranationalists often separate people into "us" and "them." In Russia, for example, people celebrate Defenders of the Motherland Day. Like some others, the woman pictured in Figure 6-2 took this opportunity to express her belief that immigrants and refugees should not enjoy the same rights as ethnic Russians.

Ultranationalists often promote their own national interests — economic, social, and cultural — while ignoring or trampling on the national interests of other people in their own country and in other countries. This exaggerated sense of national interest, or ultranationalism, can even inspire them to invade and take over other countries.

From Nationalism to Ultranationalism

Many people agree that ultranationalism includes elements of racism and fanaticism and that it can lead to conflict. But people do not always draw the line between nationalism and ultranationalism in the same place.

Whether people call a particular policy nationalistic or ultranationalistic often depends on the nation they identify with. Some might say that the actions of people in their own group are patriotic but claim that similar actions by peoples in other groups are ultranationalistic. Building a strong military, for example, may be viewed as nationalistic in your own country — but ultranationalistic in another country, especially if the other country threatens your country's national security.

The woman carrying the sign in Figure 6-2, for example, may regard her view as right, just, and nationalistic in the best sense of the word. But to someone else, it may seem ultranationalistic — and even racist — because its purpose is to deny rights to people who are different from her.

Nationalism and Ultranationalism in Kosovo

Change and crises can inspire nationalists to become ultranationalists. When your national identity and national interests are threatened, the rights of your own group can become all-important. When this happens, it can be hard to tell where nationalism ends and ultranationalism begins.

Until February 17, 2008, for example, Kosovo was a province of Serbia. But on that date, the Kosovo government declared independence. This declaration brought up longstanding tensions between the peoples who live in Kosovo.

Over the centuries, Kosovo has experienced religious and ethnic intolerance and violence. About 80 per cent of Kosovars are Muslims, and about 10 per cent are Orthodox Christians. About 90 per cent of Kosovars are ethnic Albanians; most of the rest are ethnic Serbians. The religious divisions are closely connected to ethnic divisions. This means that national identity is tangled with religious identity.

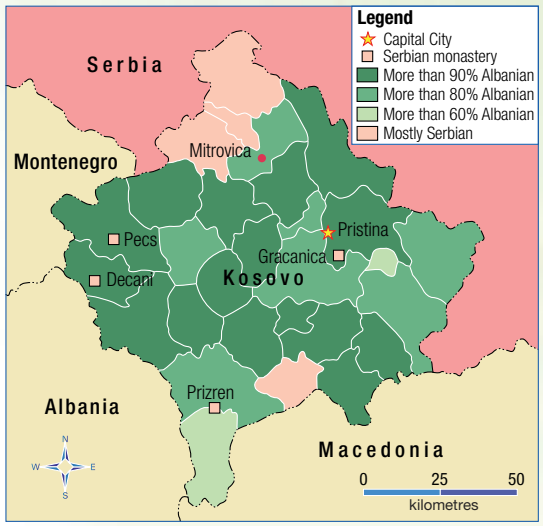
The conflict between groups became so severe during the 1990s that the United Nations took over administration of the province. In 2008, Serbians in the region lived in separate areas protected by UN police forces and troops from the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance, or NATO. These forces also patrolled the border between Serbia and Kosovo.

Kosovo's declaration of independence moved some Serbians closer to ultranationalism. They feared that they were losing not only territory, but also sites that have been connected to Serbian traditions and culture since the 14th century. Some Serbians claimed that "Kosovo is ours" and "Kosovo is Serbia" — and some resorted to violence.

James Lyon, a senior adviser on the Balkans for the International Crisis Group, explained Serbians' feelings. "Kosovo plays an integral role in Serbian identity," he said. "Without Kosovo, they suffer an identity crisis that is much more serious than just losing territory."

Examine the map in Figure 6-3. In your own words, explain why some Serbians might believe that Kosovo should not become an independent country.

Figure 6-3 Ethnic Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo, 2008



To see a more detailed map of Kosovo in the world, turn to the map appendix.

Figure 6-4 On February 17, 2008, Kosovars celebrated their parliament's declaration of independence from Serbia. The Albanian flag was used because so many Kosovars are ethnic Albanians and because the new country did not yet have a flag of its own.

Figure 6-5 On February 18, 2008, Serbian Kosovars protested Kosovo's declaration of independence from Serbia. "Serbia Forever" is one of the slogans used by ethnic Serbians who want Kosovo to remain part of Serbia.

[In a crisis] people come to believe that they want security at any cost and that human rights, the broad range of human rights — equality, social and economic rights, all civil liberties and freedoms — are a luxury that will come after security is ensured, which of course is a very big mistake.

— Louise Arbour, United Nations high commissioner for human rights, on the resurgence of the Taliban in Afghanistan, 2007

Russian Ultranationalism

Severe economic and social changes can cause unemployment and poverty. People become fearful about their future, and as Louise Arbour says in "Voices" on this page, they want to know that they will survive. Their personal safety, economic security, and the values of their own group can become all-important. Circumstances like these sometimes set the stage for ultranationalism to arise.

Russia under Stalin

Early in the 20th century, Russia was ruled by an absolute monarch. But in 1917, a revolution began. This revolution threw the country into civil war and resulted in the assassination of the monarch and the royal family. The millions of Russians who had already suffered great insecurity and hardship during World War I suffered even more. Finally, in 1922, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was formed. The USSR was a union of several nations under Russian control.

By 1928, Joseph Stalin had emerged as head of the Communist Party and the country's leader and dictator. He alone would decide what was in Russians' national interest. One of Stalin's first acts was to confiscate farmers' land and order them to work on the new state-owned collective farms. Farmers who objected were punished, and about five million people were deported to prison camps in Siberia or Central Asia.

Stalin wanted Soviet nationalism to replace the loyalties of the 100 distinct ethnic national groups in the Soviet Union. Any group that objected was persecuted as a criminal nation and sent to slave-labour camps in Siberia.

Stalin also rid the Communist Party of anyone accused of being an "enemy of the people." Millions were sent to the camps in Siberia. Included among the "enemies" were an 85-year-old woman who made the sign of the cross as a funeral passed, a man who took down a portrait of Stalin to paint a wall, and the writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, who made an insulting comment about Stalin in a private letter.

Figure 6-6 This lithograph, which was created by the French artist Gignoux in 1931, is titled *The Siberian Gulag*. "Gulag" is an acronym that comes from the Russian words for "administration of corrective labour camps."

Ukraine under Stalin

Stalin's treatment of Ukrainians was especially brutal. When Ukrainian farmers refused to give up their land, Stalin confiscated their crops. As a result, up to 10 million Ukrainians starved to death in the 1930s. Stalin also outlawed the use of the Ukrainian language in public. And Ukrainians were the largest group of political prisoners in the slave-labour camps.

Read Louise Arthur's words in "Voices." Do you agree that human rights should not be suspended for the sake of gaining security? Explain your response.

Propaganda and Ultranationalism

Propaganda refers to information and ideas that are spread to achieve a specific goal. The information and ideas are often misleading and may be dishonest. Ultranationalists often use propaganda to manipulate strong human emotions — especially fear and insecurity — and persuade people to behave in certain ways. Propaganda often

- calls opponents names (e.g., "terrorists," "fanatics") that are designed to arouse people's anger and fears
- plays down people's own failures or uses words that hide the true meaning of their actions (e.g., calling their own wars "holy" and "just" or referring to death camps as "concentration camps" or "work camps")
- uses respected symbols to appeal to people's values and beliefs (e.g., religious leaders and symbols or a national flag)
- appeals to people's fears when trying to persuade them to support particular actions (e.g., claiming that independence for other people will destroy their own culture)

The poster of Stalin that opens this chapter is an example of Soviet propaganda. At the same time as Stalin was sending millions of people to slave-labour camps, this poster was presenting him as a caring father of the Soviet peoples. To get this message across, propaganda experts created posters, slogans, songs, speeches, newspaper articles, and banners glorifying Stalin and his policies.

Adolf Hitler and the Nazis used similar methods in Germany during the 1930s and 1940s. Joseph Goebbels, Adolf Hitler's minister for public enlightenment and propaganda, built a huge propaganda organization to control all forms of the media. Goebbels used this propaganda machine to feed Germans' fears and insecurities and to deceive the German people into believing that they were superior and Jews were evil.

Figure 6-7 In this 1938 photograph, German children read an anti-Jewish book titled *The Poisonous Mushroom*. The Nazis believed that propaganda like this would help instil Nazi values in the young.

Figure 6-8 German troops force Jewish women and children out of a house in Warsaw, Poland. People in the Warsaw ghetto had tried to resist German efforts to deport them to death camps, where six million Jews were murdered. How do you think the propaganda shown in the photograph in Figure 6-7 might have influenced the treatment of Jewish people shown in this photograph?

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. Propaganda often inflames people's prejudices and feeds on emotions such as fear, guilt, and patriotism. List three criteria you could use to decide whether a government message provides important information required by citizens or is propaganda designed to sway public opinion.

   Transform your criteria into questions (e.g., Does the message portray a specific group in a negative way?).

How does ultranationalism develop?

Various factors and events can combine to transform nationalism into ultranationalism. An economic crisis, for example, can cause people to focus on their own needs and national interests. Sometimes a leader appears who can inspire people to follow and who is powerful enough to take control of an entire country. Leaders like this often use national symbols and myths to convince people that they are superior to the people of other nations.

Countries in Crisis

On October 29, 1929, the price of stocks on the New York Stock Exchange dropped. This caused economic turmoil in many countries. Governments could not take care of citizens, who suddenly had no work and no money. As a result, many people became angry, afraid, and vulnerable to anyone who seemed to offer a solution.

The stock market crash was one factor that contributed to the Great Depression of the 1930s. This global economic crisis helped spread extreme nationalism. Around the world, people suffered economic losses. They lost their sense of personal security along with their economic security.

Figure 6-9 When the New York Stock Exchange crashed, crowds of worried people gathered outside. The crash caused economic turmoil around the world. People lost their savings as banks suddenly closed. They lost their jobs as companies laid off workers. Some people lost their homes, and some could not even afford to buy food.

Germany after World War I

In the early 1920s, Germany had suffered through a period of extreme inflation — rising prices and a sharp drop in the buying power of money. German money became almost worthless while prices increased by more than 100 times.

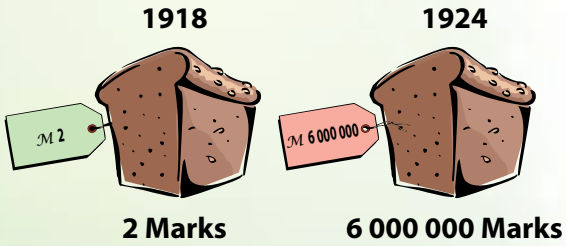
By 1929, trade with other countries had increased, and the German economy had started to recover. Then the Great Depression started. To try to protect their own industries, many countries stopped importing German goods. As a result, German industries laid off workers, and many people faced homelessness and starvation.

In addition, the country was still struggling to recover from World War I. The government was still trying to pay reparations and make up for the loss of the colonies that had been taken away by the victorious Allies. Germany was also deeply in debt to the United States, which had lent the German government money to help rebuild the country.

As economic conditions grew worse, some Germans began to look for a strong leader who could fix the country. Adolf Hitler's National Socialist German Workers' Party — the Nazi Party — started to gain support. Hitler was elected to lead Germany in 1933.

Figure 6-10 shows how much the price of a loaf of bread rose in Germany between 1918 and 1924. How might price increases like this have made it easier for Hitler to rise to power?

Figure 6-10 German Inflation and the Price of Bread



Japan after World War I

During World War I, Japan had supported the Allies. After the war, Japanese agricultural and industrial exports to Europe and the United States increased. But when the Great Depression started, these trading partners tried to support their own industries by limiting imports — and Japanese people lost their jobs.

In addition, about half the farmers in Japan had been involved in producing silk. When Europeans and Americans could no longer afford this luxury cloth, these farmers suffered. Then, in 1932, the rice crop failed and caused famine.

Japanese ultranationalists blamed their politicians for the crisis. They became even angrier when the United States, Canada, and Australia shut out Japanese immigrants. To try to obtain raw materials and markets for Japanese products, Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931. Manchuria is the northeastern region of China.

By 1937, the military controlled the Japanese government and Japan was at war with China. Military leaders brought back traditional warrior values, such as obedience to the emperor and the state. They also created a cult around the emperor, Hirohito.

Figure 6-11 Hirohito, the Japanese emperor, took over the throne when his father died in 1926. Hirohito was worshipped as *arahitogami*, a god who is human. How might the idea of the emperor as a demigod — a being who is partly divine — feed into the development of ultranationalism?

Taking Turns

How might a crisis affect people's sense of nationalism and national identity?

The students responding to this question are Pearl, who lives in St. Albert and whose great-great-great grandfather immigrated from China to work on the Canadian Pacific Railway; Blair, who lives in Edmonton and whose heritage is Ukrainian, Scottish, and German; and Amanthi, who lives in Edson and whose parents immigrated from Sri Lanka.

Pearl

My great-grandfather was born in Canada, but he had family in China — and they told him what it was like when Japan invaded. Times were really tough and people were scared. But they still helped one another whenever they could. They even helped strangers. So in some ways, the hardships drew people together — and deepened their sense of Chinese national identity.

Blair

The way my Great-Uncle Dmytro tells it, Stalin was afraid of the strong nationalist loyalties of ethnic Ukrainians. Ukrainian culture was getting stronger in the 1930s, and people were resisting Stalin. To force Ukrainians to do what he wanted, he starved them. But this crisis didn't destroy Ukrainians. Just the opposite.

Amanthi

I liked what Louise Arbour said about what people do in a crisis. If you don't have food or a safe place to live, you might not care about rights and freedoms or national identity. In some ways, just talking about national identity is a luxury that people like us here in Canada enjoy. I'll bet that if we lived in a one-party state that controlled the media, we wouldn't even hear a voice like Arbour's.

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Pearl, Blair, and Amanthi are answering? Explain the reasons for your answer.

Figure 6-12 Adolf Hitler used powerful public address systems, careful staging, and skilful architectural design to whip up support at mass rallies like this one in Nuremberg in 1935. How would rallies like this have fostered enthusiasm for Hitler's leadership?

Figure 6-13 Tojo Hideki, who led Japan into World War II, was prime minister from 1941 to 1944. He was raised in a family with a long warrior tradition, and he had worked his way up through the ranks. Tojo believed that Japan's destiny was to rule Asia.

Charismatic Leaders

During the 1920s and 1930s, ultranationalist dictators emerged in the Soviet Union, Italy, Germany, and Japan. These leaders were charismatic. They inspired enthusiasm and devotion in their followers — and fear in people who questioned their leadership or policies. They used deadly force to put down opposition.

Adolf Hitler in Germany

In Germany, Adolf Hitler promised that he would restore people's national pride by making their country the world's leading nation. Hitler was a skilled speaker who knew how to inspire an audience. He promised to fix Germany by

- refusing to recognize the Treaty of Versailles
- rebuilding the country's armed forces and reclaiming territories it had lost at the end of World War I
- restoring the superiority of the "Aryan race" — white Europeans. In Hitler's view, the Germanic and Nordic peoples were the "purest" examples of Aryans.

Nazi propaganda experts used radio, movies, public address systems, and giant posters to keep Hitler's image and message before the public. The Nazis issued carefully planned new releases and photographs to newspapers. Party members organized mass meetings that attracted audiences of up to 100 000. At these meetings, crowds chanted slogans like "Today Germany, tomorrow the whole world."

Hirohito and Tojo in Japan

In the years before World War II, ultranationalists worked to rid Japan of democracy and to make the country a one-party state ruled by the military. Although Emperor Hirohito — the Son of Heaven — was believed to have divine power, he was not involved in politics. The commanders of Japan's armed forces decided on the country's national interests and made most of the foreign policy decisions that took Japan into World War II.

Military leaders, for example, decided to invade China and to capture territory belonging to other countries. They wanted markets for Japanese products, as well as raw materials to supply Japanese industries. They justified this expansion by saying that Japan was only doing the same thing as the United States and the colonial powers of Europe.

In 1941, General Tojo Hideki became prime minister and transformed Japan into a military dictatorship. Tojo was an aggressive ultranationalist who promised that Japan would use its military might to dominate Asia.

Instilling Ultranationalist Values

The dictatorships in the Soviet Union, Germany, Italy, and Japan promoted extreme nationalist values. Domestic and foreign policies promoted these values, and strong military and police forces were built to protect them. Education was used to instil these values in children. Culture and art were also used to serve the ultranationalists' goals and to drown out opposing voices.

Ultranationalist Values in Germany

During the 1930s, German ultranationalist propaganda often focused on make-believe glories and the nationalist values of the past. The operas of Richard Wagner, for example, glorified a romantic time of German greatness and were widely admired. At the same time, modern art and music were condemned.

The so-called master race of German people were called on to build an empire — the Third Reich — that would last for a thousand years. For this to happen, Nazi leaders said that Germany must get rid of anyone who challenged Nazi values. They also introduced racist policies to eliminate people they labelled "inferior." These people included Jews, Roma, homosexuals, and people with disabilities. Marriage — and eventually even friendship — between Germans and Jews or Roma was forbidden.

From elementary school through university, students were taught Nazi values. Teachings that challenged these values were forbidden. History books were rewritten to glorify Germany's past and to justify invading territory that belonged to other countries. In the summer of 1933, ultranationalist university students burned books that they said did not follow the approved nationalist line. This was part of an "action against the un-German spirit."

Figure 6-14 In 1933, Hitler greeted uniformed youth in Erfurt, Germany. Hitler believed that the German youth must be trained to believe in the Nazi principles. Boys in the Hitler Youth and girls in the League of German Girls served until they were 18.

Web Connection

To find out more about the Nazi persecution of the Jewish people and how this persecution led to the murder of six million Jews, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

Anti-Jewish Laws

Hitler's government also passed laws taking away the basic rights of Jewish people. They could no longer own property or businesses. They were also forbidden to own vehicles or have a driver's licence. Jewish children could not attend schools and universities, and Jews could not be doctors, lawyers, or university professors.

The night of November 9–10, 1938, became known as *Kristallnacht*, the Night of Broken Glass. Gangs of Nazi thugs put their ultranationalist values into action. They destroyed thousands of Jewish synagogues, businesses, community centres, and homes throughout Germany and Austria. They arrested and beat up Jewish people, broke windows, and vandalized cemeteries.

Is there ever a time when citizens must disobey the law? With a partner, decide the answer to this question. Be prepared to explain your answer.

Figure 6-15 In August 2004, European Roma laid flowers at the Roma memorial in the Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp. They were commemorating the 20 000 Roma who were murdered by Nazis from 1941 to 1945. Among the victims were 10 000 children and young people under 15 years of age.

Ultranationalist Values in Japan

For centuries, Japanese nationalism had included social and religious values that honoured warriors and duty to the country. In the years leading up to World War II, the military leaders who controlled Japan took those values to extremes. They fostered the racist belief that Japanese people were superior to all other peoples and had a divine mission to expand their territory and rule Asia.

At the same time as the country's foreign policy officials were assuring the world that Japan wanted peace, the ultranationalists were gaining more and more control within the country. They were preparing for war.

In the 1930s, Japan's educational system was based on *The Way of Subjects*, published by the Japanese education ministry. Students were taught to idealize the past, to take pride in their race and culture, and to practise duty and obedience as the highest virtues. Western books, ideas, values, and culture were scorned, but the ideals of Nazi Germany were praised. Militarism and national defence were priorities. Young people were taught contempt for death, exaltation of victory, and blind obedience.

The national Japanese religion, Shinto, teaches that the souls of the dead remain in the land of their birth and that they protect the living. Warriors of the past and present were honoured — as they still are today. At the Shinto Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo, World War II soldiers are honoured as *kami*, spirits who have become gods. Many people who have died for Japan — including Tojo Hideki and others who were later executed as war criminals — are honoured there. As a result, the shrine is controversial.

Every year, hundreds of thousands of Japanese people visit the shrine. Some Japanese people want Tojo's name removed, but members of the ruling party, including Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, continue to visit the shrine to pay their respects to the *kami*.

VOICES

This fall, when the destiny of the Empire is being decided, through His Majesty's summons I have been ordered to the Tsuchiura naval aviation unit as a naval preparatory student. It is an extremely great joy and honour for our family. In life I am a defender of the divine land and through death I become a guardian spirit of the state. While my body may scatter over the skies of the South Seas like cherry blossoms, my soul eternally remains in and protects the land of our ancestors . . . During these extraordinary times for the nation, what a joy it is to be summoned as a soldier.

— Gihei Watayama Mikoto, 21, Japanese naval officer killed in action in the East China Sea, November 1944

Figure 6-16 When it became obvious that Japan was losing the war, Kamikaze pilots began crashing their planes into Allied ships. The young pilots in this photograph have tied to their arms the honorary ribbons that marked their mission. How were the pilots' actions the result of ultranationalism?

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. Review the events described in this section. Explain how the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin, Japan under its military leaders, and Germany under Adolf Hitler followed a similar course in the years between World War I and World War II.
2. In your view, when did each country cross the line that separates nationalism and ultranationalism? Cite evidence to support your position.

How have people responded to ultranationalism?

Ultranationalism infects all aspects of a country's life — social, economic, cultural, and political. Ultranationalists often believe that they have the right to invade other countries and take over territory by force. When this has happened, national leaders around the world have found it difficult to find peaceful ways to respond.

Is it possible to persuade someone to negotiate — and work to resolve conflict through consensus — when she or he will not even consider your point of view?

Appeasement as a Response to Ultranationalism

In the years before World War II, many people who had experienced the terrible costs of World War I and the Great Depression believed that avoiding another war was one of their most important national interests. So when Adolf Hitler and the Nazis began to take over other countries' territory in Europe, people hoped that **appeasement** — giving in to demands — would prevent another war.

Germany began expanding its European territory in 1935. Finally, in 1938, British prime minister Neville Chamberlain, French prime minister Edouard Daladier, and Italian dictator Benito Mussolini met Hitler to discuss Germany's claim to the Sudetenland, a region in western Czechoslovakia. Germany had controlled this region before World War I, but the Treaty of Versailles had given it to the newly created country of Czechoslovakia.

At the meeting, Hitler promised not to expand any more. In return, Chamberlain, Daladier, and Mussolini agreed not to challenge a German takeover of the Sudetenland. In Britain, Chamberlain explained that "the peoples of the British Empire were at one with those of Germany, of France, and of Italy" in "their anxiety, their intense desire for peace."

They came first for the Communists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist.

Then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew.

Then they came for the trade unionists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist.

Then they came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant.

Then they came for me, and by that time, no one was left to speak up.

— Attributed to Martin Neimoeller, German Lutheran pastor and anti-Nazi activist who spent eight years in a German concentration camp

Opposition to Appeasement

Not everyone agreed that appeasement would work. Winston Churchill, who was a member of Parliament in Chamberlain's Conservative Party and later became Britain's wartime prime minister, condemned the agreement. Churchill said, "An appeaser is someone who feeds a crocodile — hoping it will eat him last." He also said that the choice made by Chamberlain, Daladier, and Mussolini was "between war and dishonour. They chose dishonour; they will have war."

Early in 1939, Hitler broke his promise and took over the rest of western Czechoslovakia. Churchill was proven right. Appeasement had failed.

Examine the map in Figure 6-17. Identify the territories Germany took over between 1935 and 1939. In 1938, when Germany took over the Sudetenland, would you have agreed with Neville Chamberlain's or Winston Churchill's response? Explain why.

Figure 6-17 Expansion of Germany, 1933–1939

To see Germany in the world today, turn to the map appendix.

Figure 6-18 Italian dictator Benito Mussolini standing on a tank to give a speech. The setting for this speech was carefully selected by Mussolini and his propaganda experts. What impression might the setting have been calculated to achieve?

Figure 6-19 In his 1936 speech to the League of Nations, Haile Selassie told members that Italian planes had sprayed poison gas on the "soldiers, women, children, cattle, rivers, lakes and pastures" of his country.

Failure of the League of Nations

By 1934, 58 countries, including Canada, Britain, and France, were members of the League of Nations, which had been created after World War I. League members agreed to help one another and to take action to maintain peace.

If one country invaded another, League members could

- order the invader to leave the other country's territory
- impose trade sanctions — penalties — on the invader
- use military force against the invader

But member countries were not required to provide troops to stop invasions. When Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931, for example, China appealed to the League for help. The League condemned the invasion. Japan responded by resigning its membership in 1933. After that, League members could not agree on what action to take — and ended up doing nothing.

Ethiopia

After World War I, Italy suffered some of the same economic problems as Germany. Promising to fix things, Benito Mussolini was appointed prime minister in 1922. Mussolini was an ultranationalist and a gifted speaker — and he soon established himself as dictator.

Mussolini pledged to make Italy as powerful as it had been in the days of the Roman Empire. His policies included suppressing all opposition, demanding absolute loyalty, and conquering territories. Like Hitler, he used propaganda as a tool to gain support.

Italy had fought on the side of the Allies in World War I — and Italians expected to be rewarded. As a result, Italian ultranationalists were angry when the Treaty of Versailles did not give Italy control of the territory it claimed in Europe or the independent African country of Ethiopia.

In October 1935, Mussolini ordered Italian troops to invade Ethiopia. Both Italy and Ethiopia were members of the League of Nations. So in June 1936, Haile Selassie, the Ethiopian emperor, travelled to League headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, to ask for help.

The League called for trade sanctions against Italy, but many countries ignored them. As a result, Ethiopia received no international support.

In the 1930s, Germany, Japan, and Italy pursued ultranationalist goals by expanding their territory. The world did little but watch. Do you think World War II could have been prevented if Canada and other countries had responded more forcefully? Explain your response.

War as a Response to Ultranationalism

On September 1, 1939, Hitler's armies invaded Poland. Thousands of tanks and 1.5 million soldiers attacked by land while German airplanes bombed Polish cities. The Polish army was no match for the highly trained and well-equipped German forces. Poland surrendered to the invaders within four weeks.

Many Polish civilians were killed or injured in the invasion, especially in cities like Warsaw. Fifteen-year-old Leah Hammerstein Silverstein lived in Warsaw when the Germans began bombing her city. She described what it was like as people tried to escape by fleeing across a bridge in the centre of Warsaw: "The bridge was one of the main targets of these planes. I don't have exactly the right words to describe the panic that existed among these running people. The screams and, you know, the cries of the children, the women, the, the terrible panic that seized the population. And, and the planes coming down on you."

Silverstein survived the bombing and became a member of the Polish underground, which fought to free the country from the Germans.

After the invasion of Poland, Britain and France finally realized that appeasement was not working. On September 3, the two countries declared war on Germany. World War II had begun.

Figure 6-20 These photographs represent two faces of the German invasion of Poland and the free city of Danzig, which is known today as Gdańsk. In one, two women weep and pray in a Warsaw street after the invasion. In the other, victorious German soldiers stage a victory parade in Danzig. How might the inhabitants of a country being invaded respond?

Canada Declares War

After World War I, the Canadian government had taken steps to make Canada more independent. By 1939, Canada's foreign policy was no longer tied to that of Britain, as it had been in 1914. This meant that Canada was not automatically included in Britain's declaration of war on Germany.

Parliament met in a special session and, on September 10, 1939, declared war on Germany. Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King announced this decision in a radio address to Canadians. He said that it was in the national interest of all Canadians to fight this war. "There is no home in Canada, no family and no individual whose fortunes and freedom are not bound up in the present struggle," he said. "I appeal to my fellow Canadians to unite in a national effort to save from destruction all that makes life itself worth living and to preserve for future generations those liberties and institutions which others have bequeathed to us."

Examine King's words. How were they crafted to appeal to the emotions of Canadians and to inspire support for the war effort? Were they propaganda? Explain. Was Canada's response ultranationalistic? Why or why not?

Web Connection

To hear Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King's speech on September 10, 1939, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

Propaganda and Censorship in Canada

Once war was declared, Canada's national interest focused on the war effort. Canadians were encouraged to support the war effort by joining the armed forces, working in wartime industries, or volunteering to help in other ways. By the end of September 1939, more than 58 000 Canadians had enlisted in the armed forces.

With the declaration of war, the tone of the language used to describe Canada's involvement in international affairs also changed. The government began implying that Germany was the evil enemy, and Canadians were told that they were fighting for "the freedom of mankind." They were also fighting for their own personal security, which depended on the security of the country as a whole.

Propaganda campaigns were launched to recruit soldiers and persuade Canadians to invest in war bonds, which helped finance the war effort. No employer was allowed to hire anyone who did not have a permit from an employment office, and employment could be restricted to specific locations or industries considered essential to the war effort.

Official censorship was also introduced to ensure that no essential information fell into the hands of the enemy. Government censors, for example, approved every speech broadcast on the CBC and examined stories published in newspapers and magazines. Military censors read all letters from members of the armed forces, as well as letters to soldiers in enemy prisoner-of-war camps. Anything that revealed too much was blacked out.

By introducing propaganda and official censorship, tactics that are also used in dictatorships, was the Canadian government starting down the path to ultranationalism?

Picturing Wartime Propaganda

Figure 6-21 This World War II poster, published by Canada's Wartime Information Board, portrays a soldier with a machine gun, a male worker with a rivet gun, and a female worker with a hoe. What message do you think this poster is designed to communicate?

Figure 6-22 In September 1942, the *Montreal Gazette* published this cartoon, titled "Speaking of Sacrifice." It contrasted the sacrifices of Canadian civilians with the sacrifice of soldiers during the disastrous raid on Dieppe, France. There, 900 Canadians were killed, more than 1000 were wounded, and 1900 were taken prisoner. What message was the cartoonist sending? Explain your response.

Conscription in Canada

To the leaders of Germany, Italy, Japan, and the Soviet Union, **conscription** — compulsory military service — was in the national interest. A strong military was essential to secure their own borders and to invade other countries. In dictatorships, it is not hard to force people to become soldiers.

When World War II started, the Canadian Armed Forces were made up entirely of volunteers. Soon after the war began, Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King introduced a limited form of conscription. But he promised that conscripts would be asked only to defend Canada. They would not be sent overseas.

King did not want to repeat the turmoil — including protests and riots — that had occurred when conscription was introduced during World War I. In 1917, the government had imposed conscription after the Allies had suffered severe losses.

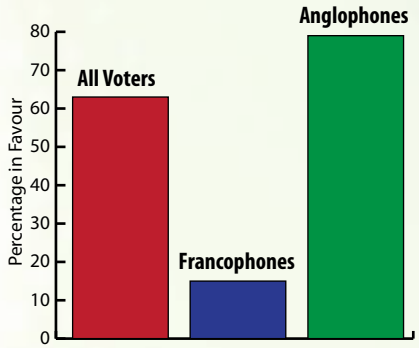
The issue had divided the country. Many Canadians of British descent believed that conscription was in the national interest, but others disagreed. Some worried about what would happen to their families and farms. Many Francophones did not believe that they should be forced to fight for the British Empire. Still, Francophones had volunteered at about the same rate as anglophones.

As casualties mounted during World War II, King decided to hold a special vote to ask Canadians' permission to break his promise not to send conscripts overseas.

The results of this vote are shown in Figure 6-25. Describe the results in two sentences.

Figure 6-25 Conscription Vote Results, 1942

Are you in favour of releasing the Government from any obligations arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service?



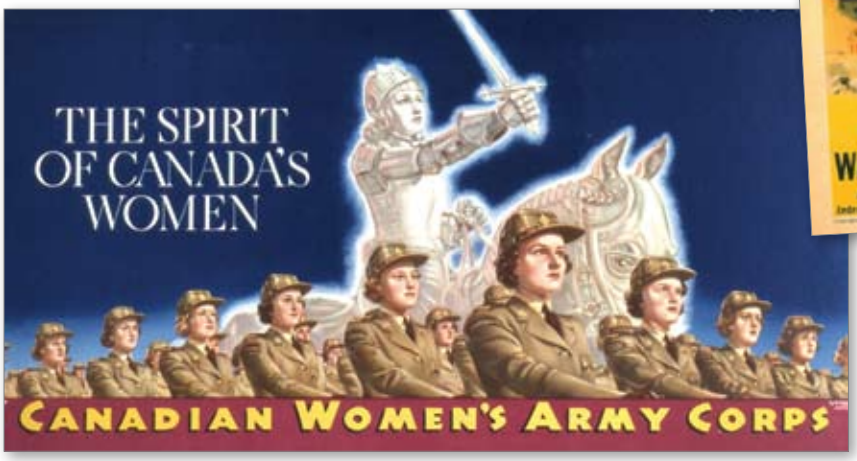


Figure 6-23 An image of the French heroine Joan of Arc was used on this poster, which was designed to encourage women to join the Canadian Women's Army Corps. At the time, women were not allowed in combat. Is this poster propaganda? Explain your response.

Figure 6-24 Canadian actor Raymond Massey was one of the stars of *The Invaders*, a 1941 British film. The film, which was also known as *The 49th Parallel*, told the story of a group of Nazis who were stranded in Canada. The Nazis try — unsuccessfully — to convert Canadians to their cause. How does this poster try to inspire Canadians' patriotic feelings?

Internment Camps in Canada

During World War I and World War II, many Canadians became caught up in the racism and extreme nationalism of the time. Thousands of people of German, Ukrainian, and Japanese origin were interned — sent to prison camps — as enemy aliens.

Ukrainian Canadians in World War I

By 1914, most of the 171 000 Ukrainian immigrants to Canada had settled in the Prairie provinces. Many of these immigrants held Austrian passports because the Austro-Hungarian Empire occupied the part of Ukraine where they came from.

During World War I, Germany and Austria-Hungary were allies — and many people feared that the "Austrians" in Canada would give information to the enemy. As a result, the Canadian government targeted members of this group as "enemy aliens."

These "Austrians" were sent to one of 24 internment camps across Canada. About 5000 of the 8579 enemy aliens at the camps were ethnic Ukrainians. Another 80 000 Ukrainian Canadians were required to carry cards identifying them as enemy aliens and to report to authorities regularly.

Is it fair to compare conscription and the treatment of Canadians of Ukrainian or Japanese descent with Joseph Stalin's actions in the Soviet Union and Adolf Hitler's actions in Germany?

Japanese Canadians in World War II

During World War II, propaganda depicted Germans, Italians, and Japanese people as the enemy. As a result, Canadians of German, Italian, and Japanese origin were often the targets of discrimination.

Even before World War II, Canadians of Japanese descent had been subjected to discrimination, especially in British Columbia, where many had settled. They were, for example, not allowed to vote or to enter certain professions. After Japanese forces attacked Pearl Harbor and Hong Kong in December 1941, things became even worse.

In 1942, Japanese Canadians who lived within 160 kilometres of Canada's Pacific coast were rounded up and transported to internment camps in the British Columbia interior or to farms on the Prairies. Internment camps were like prisons. The government seized Japanese-owned homes, property, and businesses and sold them at bargain prices — then used the money from the sales to pay the costs of keeping people in the camps.

FYI

No Japanese Canadian was ever charged with disloyalty to Canada. In September 1988, the government apologized and offered compensation for the property seized during World War II.

Figure 6-26 Though discrimination often made it hard for people from visible minority groups to join the armed forces, some Japanese Canadians, such as Shin Takahashi (left) and Toru Iwaasa (right), managed to make it through the process and serve in the Canadian army. What statement might these soldiers' actions make about their national loyalty?

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Joy Kogawa
Shedding Light on a Shameful Story

When Joy Kogawa published *Obasan* in 1981, the award-winning book took many Canadians by surprise. It was the first novel to focus on what had happened to Japanese Canadians during World War II — and it raised public awareness of the discrimination and injustices that they had suffered.

Many Canadians did not know that Japanese Canadians were often given only 24 hours' notice that they must leave their homes. They were allowed to take just one suitcase, weighing a maximum of 68 kilograms. This meant leaving behind family treasures and mementoes, which were rarely recovered.

Although *Obasan* is a novel, not an autobiography, Kogawa had first-hand knowledge of many of the experiences of her characters. Born in Vancouver in 1935, she and her family were among the 22 000 Japanese Canadians interned during World War II.

In 1942, when Kogawa was six years old, her family home was confiscated, and she and her parents were forced to move to Slocan, a ghost town in the Rocky Mountains. There, Kogawa spent the war years. When the war ended, she and her family were forced to move again, this time to Coaldale, Alberta. Her mother, who had been a kindergarten teacher, and her father, an Anglican minister, worked as field labourers to survive.

Like Kogawa, Naomi, the narrator of *Obasan*, was a child when her family was exiled to a ghost town in the interior of British Columbia. After the war, the family was not allowed to return to the coast but was sent to live in southern Alberta.

Figure 6-27 After the publication of *Obasan*, poet and novelist Joy Kogawa joined other Canadians of Japanese descent in seeking redress for their internment. Since then, she has become an ardent Canadian nationalist who helped organize a national-unity march in Québec.

In the book, Naomi writes about what it was like when she and her family first learned that they would be forced out of their home.

> Our beautiful radios are gone. We had to give them up or suffer the humiliation of having them taken forcibly by the RCMP. Our cameras . . . all are confiscated. They can search our homes without warrant.
>
> But the greatest shock is this: we are being forced to leave. All of us. Not a single person of the Japanese race who lives in the "protected area" will escape . . .
>
> It breaks my heart to think of leaving this house and the little things that we've gathered through the years — all the irreplaceable mementos — our books and paintings — the azalea plants, my white iris . . .
>
> A curfew that applies only to us was started a few days ago. If we're caught out after sundown, we're thrown in jail.

EXPLORATIONS

1. Joy Kogawa is a member of the Order of Canada, an award given by the governor general to honour "outstanding achievement, dedication to the community, and service to the nation." If you had gone through Kogawa's experiences, would you have accepted this award? Explain the reasons for your response.
2. An old saying suggests that hindsight is 20-20. In other words, it is easy to look back and judge the decisions people made in the past. Is it fair to judge past actions from the perspective of today's knowledge and understanding? Provide logical reasons for your response.

Peacekeeping as a Response to Ultranationalism

The United Nations was formed to help keep peace in the world after the suffering and destruction of World War II. At first, UN missions involved only observation, but in 1956, a crisis over the Suez Canal highlighted the need for a more active approach.

The canal, which links the Red and Mediterranean seas, was built in the 19th century. The canal enabled ships carrying goods — especially oil — to move between Asia and Europe more quickly and cheaply. These ships no longer had to travel around Africa. Ships paid fees for using the canal, and profits went to the canal company's shareholders. In 1956, it was owned by a British and French company.

But that year, the Egyptian government took control of the canal. The government believed that it was in Egypt's national interest for the Egyptian people, not the company's shareholders, to benefit from the fees.

Examine the map in Figure 6-28. Why do you think the Egyptian government might have felt entitled to take over the Suez Canal? Would you classify this action as nationalistic or ultranationalistic? Explain your response.

In response to the Egyptian government's action, Israeli, British, and French forces invaded the canal zone. The Soviet Union supported Egypt and threatened to attack Britain and France. Suddenly, the world was on the brink of another war.

At the time, Lester B. Pearson was Canada's minister of external affairs. Pearson proposed that the UN send an emergency force to keep peace in the canal zone while diplomats tried to resolve the crisis.

The UN welcomed Pearson's idea. Within days, a UN force of soldiers from various countries, including Canada, was in the canal zone. Hostilities stopped and a peaceful solution was found. This event marked the start of international peacekeeping.

Because Canadian governments believe that a peaceful world is in Canada's national interest, participating in peacekeeping missions is important to Canada's foreign policy. By 2007, Canada had taken part in more than more than 60 peacekeeping missions.

Web Connection

To find out more about recent UN peacekeeping missions and the part that Canada has played in these missions, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

FYI

For his work in developing the idea of peacekeeping, Lester B. Pearson was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1957. Pearson was later elected prime minister of Canada.

Figure 6-28 Suez Canal

To see the Suez Canal in relation to the world, turn to the map appendix.

THE VIEW FROM HERE

Peacekeepers are instructed to "keep the fighting parties away from each other, defuse the situation, investigate the facts and try to work out a solution to the problem that everybody can live with." But recently, peacekeeping has become more complicated. It now includes political, military, and humanitarian activities, which may be dangerous for the peacekeepers — and the civilians they are trying to protect.

When the United Nations Peacekeeping Forces won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1988, UN secretary-general **Javier Pérez de Cuéllar** accepted on behalf of the UN. This is part of his speech.

> [Peacekeepers] are soldiers without enemies. Their duty is to remain above the conflict. They may only use their weapons in the last resort for self-defence. Their strength is that, representing the will of the international community, they provide an honourable alternative to war and a useful pretext for peace. Their presence is often the essential prerequisite [necessary condition] for negotiating a settlement. They have, or should have, a direct connection with the process of peacemaking.

In 2006, historian **Paul Kennedy**, an international affairs specialist, wrote about UN peacekeepers in *The Parliament of Man: The Past, Present, and Future of the United Nations.*

> Of all the images and ideas we have about the United Nations, one surely is the most familiar: blue-helmeted soldiers patrolling a cease-fire zone, distributing food to displaced villagers, and guarding election centers. When it works well, and there are many examples of that, it is perhaps one of the highest expressions of our common humanity and a testimony to human progress.

Figure 6-29 In 2007, UN peacekeepers from Brazil distributed food and drink to Haitian children in Port-au-Prince. The peacekeepers were trying to bring security to the people of the country, especially those who lived in regions that were controlled by criminal gangs who harass, kidnap, and murder Haitians.

Figure 6-30 In 1995, UN peacekeepers from France cleared a road of landmines near Sarajevo in Bosnia and Herzagovina. For years, a prolonged and deadly conflict had been taking place among Orthodox Christian Serbs, Catholic Croats, and Muslim Bosnians over who would control the region.

EXPLORATIONS

1. Explain the meaning of the following phrases — and how they relate to ultranationalism:
   a) "remain above the conflict" — Javier Pérez de Cuéllar
   b) "one of the highest expressions of our common humanity" — Paul Kennedy
2. Figure 6-29 and 6-30 present two views of peacekeepers. Why do you think these views were chosen? If you were to add a third photograph, describe what it would show. Explain your choice.

THINK...PARTICIPATE...RESEARCH...COMMUNICATE...

1. Explain your understanding of ultranationalism. Use examples from this chapter to make your explanation as clear as possible.
2. In this chapter, you have explored answers to this question: How can nationalism lead to ultranationalism?

   Create a continuum like the one shown. At one end, write the word "nationalism." At the other, write the word "ultranationalism."

   Nationalism ⟷ Ultranationalism

   Select an ultranationalistic act that you read about in this chapter. Place it on the nationalism–ultranationalism continuum where you think it fits most appropriately. Explain your placement. Refer to nationalism and ultranationalism in your explanation. Use the explanation of ultranationalism you developed in Question 1 as an aid.
3. "The Führer is always right" was a Nazi slogan used in Germany before and during World War II.

   a) Explain how this slogan could be viewed as a perfect example of what can happen when a country is a dictatorship and is suffering the effects of ultranationalism. In your explanation, refer to the bias that is built into the slogan.

   b) Create a slogan that German groups opposed to Hitler might have secretly put up to communicate their message. The slogan should be short but rally the spirits of the people who believe in a free Germany. Your slogan should be similar to the Nazi one in that it does not use any disrespectful language or target a specific group.

The Führer is always right.

Figure 6-31

4. Consider the poster in Figure 6-31. This was created by Canada's Wartime Information Board during World War II. Its purpose was to encourage Canadians to buy Victory Bonds. These bonds were an important way for the government to raise money to fight the war.

   a) Explain the poster's message to the Canadian people.

   b) How might this poster be described as nationalistic? As ultranationalistic?

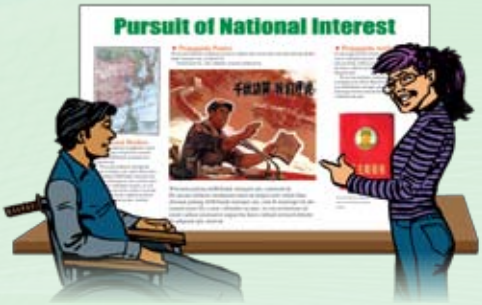
   c) Do you think it is acceptable to use propaganda like this during a time of crisis such as war? Explain your answer.

Skill Builder to Your Challenge

Present an Example of Propaganda

The challenge for Related Issue 2 asks you to create a museum display called Pursuit of National Interest.

In this second skill builder, you will create a poster, a political cartoon, a slogan, or some other example of propaganda. As you complete this activity, remember to use respectful images and words. Focus your propaganda piece on a positive aspect of national interest, such as support for the country's war effort or helping newcomers to the country.



Step 1: Decide on the message

Review the ideas explored in this chapter and your journal on nationalism. Jot down ideas that you think would provide effective content for a propaganda message.

Step 2: Decide on the format

Decide on the format of the propaganda message. You may choose a cartoon, a poster, a drawing, a slogan, or some other format.

The format you choose will strongly influence the message you create. A poster, for example, requires fewer words but a strong image. A political cartoon requires a clever symbol or scenario, and a slogan must be short, catchy, and easily remembered. Questions like the following may help you decide which format will work most effectively:

- Which format would communicate my message most effectively?
- Do the format and the message work together effectively?
- Does the format enable me to communicate the bias I want to show?
- Will this format appeal to my target audience?

Step 3: Prepare a first draft

Create a rough sketch of the piece. Write the words that will appear on your poster, or the caption that will go with your political cartoon, or the first draft of your slogan, or the text needed for the format you have chosen. Ask a classmate or your teacher for feedback. Revise your work to reflect the feedback you receive.

Step 4: Write the display card

Complete the display card that will accompany your propaganda piece. On it, explain the purpose of your piece and the bias you have built into it.

Step 5: Finish your propaganda piece

On the basis of the changes you made to your first draft, complete your propaganda piece. Store it in a safe place until you are ready to assemble your museum display.

Tips for Choosing a Message

- stir up emotions in the target audience (e.g., make people feel important or fearful)
- be direct
- send one strong message